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PRINCETON TORY



ABORTION AT PRINCETON?

THE PRINCETON TORY

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Notes from the Publisher

Abraham Lincoln once said, "The philosophy of the schoolroom in one generation will be the philosophy of government in the next." The government of Lincoln's generation was shaped one schoolhouse at a time—just as, our future government is currently being molded at Princeton. Our schoolroom is this campus, from precepts to late-night conversations, the educational atmosphere at Princeton, and throughout the country, helps shape America's future leaders.



The question I pose to you is: what is the philosophy of our "schoolroom?" What educational principles are guiding our generation? Based on the topics addressed in this month's *Tory*, I am not encouraged. The issues of our day, and this campus, center on, among others, encouragement and support for pre-marital sex, homosexuality, abortion, and a general hostility towards faith and religion. Quite a line-up.

In order for an undergraduate to encounter the buzzwords of diversity (skin-deep), tolerance (one-sided), multiculturalism (anti-Western), and sexual/gender liberation (anti-family) they must simply attend lecture, precept, or University-sponsored events. These concepts, at least within the scope of Old Nassau, are guiding our generation.

On the other hand, an educational philosophy based on the pursuit of truth, justice, virtue, and civic duty, is hard to come by. Unfortunately, students who seek guidance in pursuit of these values must put in long hours and extra effort—often times carefully honing their skills alone. The truth is that the University has abandoned almost all its moral/truth-seeking guidance to undergraduates.

Regardless, as students, we all have a choice—the wide road, made unobstructed by moral relativism, or the narrow road, less traveled, yet guided by a quest for the Truth. It is our hope at the *Tory* that, as a part of a larger conservative movement, we can help Princetonians choose the path less taken. Safe travels.

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THE
PRINCETON TORY
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The Rant



Cover Story

Campus

Last Word

The Rant

- Did anybody else happen to catch the LGBT "Kiss-in" in front of Frist the other day? If not, you didn't miss much. Just another example of the homosexual movement using sexual shock techniques in a futile attempt to advance its supposedly worthwhile cause. And for what? Personally, we don't see the point of having numerous gay couples kissing while others stand around and cheer as if some huge barrier had just been broken. What barrier? Why kissing? The truth is that this act does not inherently carry with it any message, and, stripped of its supposed purpose, all that is left is a "Hey! Look at me!" peep show for all the University (or, as we mentioned earlier, the huge crowd present for the festivities). Participants, we hope you feel empowered. Unfortunately, the truth is that all of you who participated in the "Kiss-In" only managed to draw attention to yourselves. You didn't change any existing stereotypes, or force people to alter their pre-existing notions of homosexuality. And, in failing so miserably, you helped to remove more credibility from the homosexual movement and made its cause seem even more irreverent, illegitimate, and irrelevant. Congratulations!

- We at the *Tory* would like to congratulate the (dis)Honorable Robert Torricelli for dropping out from what is quickly becoming the most heated United States Senate race in the country. For the first time in Senator Torricelli's less than illustrious career, he has finally committed an act wherein he didn't place his own interest first. Unfortunately for his constituents, he still isn't looking out for them; he only dropped out for the sake of his party. Either way, good riddance to bad rubbish.

- *The Idealistic Nation*, Princeton's newest liberal monthly, argues that Democrats "have a lot to learn from Ralph Nader." Word has it that in the next issue, its editors argue that major league baseball teams should study the winning ways of the Cubs and Red Sox, and tell American soldiers to read up on the masterful tactics of the Canadian and French armed forces. Oui oui.

- Ad of the month: "Liberal? Literate? Submit to *The Idealistic Nation*."

- Why is it that critics on the left, grad student Nicholas Guyatt among them, insist on mocking President Bush's physical fitness? Four years ago, the elites fell in love with Bill Clinton's MTV underwear shenanigans and less-than-stellar sax solos, only to back off of Clinton's ability to "connect with young people" some time in 1998. Now, it seems, the private doings of public figures are once more fair game for pundits. Recently, Guyatt dropped a snide remark in the *Prince* about Bush's appearance on the cover of Runner's World, which raises an interesting point: if the ability to run a six-minute mile is laughable to Guyatt, then how does he feel about the ability to lie under oath?

- The Harvard Law School has grudgingly given the military permission to recruit students on its campus, but only after government authorities reminded them that their millions in federal grants were on the line. (The original expulsion of recruiters stemmed from Harvard administrators' objections to the "don't ask, don't tell" policy.) In retaliation, gay rights activists have vowed to sign themselves up for numerous interview slots, crowding out potential recruits and derailing the whole process. This is, well, pretty bad timing. A decent debate may be had about the military's policy on gay soldiers, but isn't it marginally more important to ensure that our government has the personnel to prosecute a war on terrorists whose beliefs frequently involve killing homosexuals?

- In last month's issue, we cautioned against knee-jerk criticism of President Tilghman for her string of female appointments to top administrative positions. We stand by this: not only do new university

presidents deserve significant leeway in the appointment process, but personal attacks on appointees themselves are inappropriate without specific reason to believe they lack the requisite credentials for the job. We still intend, of course, to examine the new administrators closely – both men and women. So far, things aren't off to a great start. In the *Prince* profile of the new dean of the School of Engineering and Applied Science, Maria Klawe, one of her statements stuck out: "I have an unusual background for a dean of engineering because I'm not an engineer."

- You may have recently seen the flier asking, "How does one measure success?" The flier proceeds to give the reader two pictorial options: a) a brand new $40,000+ luxury car, or b) saving the life of a starving African child. If we knew that buying a Toyota Corolla rather than a Mercedes S-Class and donating the surplus money to an international humanitarian organization like UNICEF would feed even one child for the next year, we would do it. But the aforementioned SPEAC flier implies that if we simply keep throwing money at world hunger it'll eventually go away. Perhaps someone should inform the SPEAC leadership that money is not the problem. From Somalia to Rwanda, there are warehouses overflowing with grain and other life-sustaining foodstuffs. It is the ineffective and corrupt leadership of these countries that prevents the food from getting to the people who need it most. As even leftist Patch Adams said in a recent visit to Princeton, the world hunger crisis is not an issue of supply, but distribution. Money is not a solution, but only a necessary element in ultimately finding something that works. Hence, I would ask all applicable campus organizations to stop making Princeton students feel guilty for wearing nice clothes and driving fancy cars. We encourage giving a percentage of one's income to charity, but in the world we live in, it is simply not necessary to give any more. This way of thinking is not selfish; it's rational.

- Memo to the Princeton Left: Want to do something about hate and anti-Semitism? Maybe PJP and SPEAC should get a petition together to fire Amiri Baraka, the new "Poet Laureate of New Jersey," who, as the *New York Times* reports, recently repeated a poem regurgitating the modern blood libel that Jews knew about the attack in advance, and were told to stay home. The poem's offending lines: "Who knew the World Trade Center was gonna get bombed/Who told 4000 Israeli workers at the Twin Towers/To stay home that day/Why did Sharon stay away?" McGreevey should have the guts to get up there and call as loudly as possible for his firing. It sounds like he might, but there has to be someone in New Jersey with the power to fire him. McGreevey should find out who, and then that person should fire Baraka – his hateful words have no place in government-subsidized poetry.

- Well, at least one Ivy League President is doing the right thing. Lawrence Summers appears to be dragging Harvard's professorate kicking and screaming into the 21st century. He's told Cornel West to get down and produce scholarship (for which West then ran crying to Princeton), and now he's told the divestment groups that their campaigns have more than a touch of anti-Semitism. And he's a Clinton administration member! At Princeton, on the other hand, the closest our administration has come to denouncing the divestment campaign has been to say that "Princeton will not change it's financial decisions based on politics unless they are widely shared by the students." How about a more substantial denunciation, Dr. Tilghman?

- Anyone else noticed that the LGBT, along with assorted "allies," seem to be pressing extra hard this year? From "the joys and toys of gay sex" lecture, to aforementioned "kiss-ins," to Gay Jeans Day, the gay community has truly shown its "pride." They even sponsored a "Gender-Bender Day" in which Princetonians were encouraged to "challenge their gender" and "dress, behave, and talk in a way they don't usually associate with their own gender identity." Hey, boys can wear bras and girls can wear ties until we're blue in the face, but it won't change the reality that the homosexual lifestyle is abnormal and immoral.

- Porn 'n Chicken, we'll pass.

-Compiled by the* Tory *Editors

Yes to Abortion, No to Choice

Matt O'Brien '03

In an age that deems itself particularly sensitive to social injustice, there are, nonetheless, those among us here at Princeton whose daily sufferings go unacknowledged. Social activism characterizes one aspect of college life and every cause, from the under-paid janitor to the Palestinian refugee, seems to have a champion. But there is one faceless victim whose plight goes unnoticed. She is the woman who has had an abortion.

For most of us, abortion is at best a distant concern. It is something that is perhaps discussed every four years around election time, but is generally not a topic for polite conversation. Even at those infrequent times in precept, over dinner, or in the dorm room when we might seriously talk about abortion, seldom do we think of its effects on our fellow students. Yet each year those around us – roommates, friends, teammates, preceptors – have abortions. For many of these women who choose abortion, their unborn child is not the only victim. The aftermath of the invasive procedure and the untold grief of being involved in the death of one's own child can lead to profound physical and psychological consequences.

According to the *Daily Princetonian*, during the 1999 school year 55 undergraduates, graduate students and their dependents reported pregnancies to McCosh Health Center. Among those pregnancies 14, or one of every four, ended in abortion. According to University Health Services, 1999 was a typical year. Approximately 10-15 women have abortions each year.

McCosh Health Center does not perform abortions but its doctors refer students to local abortion providers. The student health plan helps fund elective abortions with the mandatory fees that each student at Princeton pays. In December of 2000 Health Services decided not to offer mifepristone, or RU-486, a drug recently approved by the Food and Drug Administration which medically induces abortion during the first trimester of pregnancy. Ultimately, Health Services decided not to look in to offering the pill because, as former director Pamela Bowen told the *Prince*, "we don't have a great demand for pregnancy termination as it is."

> In a campus culture that virtually encourages pre-marital sex, and yet at the same time stigmatizes unwed pregnancy, abortion acts like the quick fix that can reconcile two such incompatible norms.

According to the Allan Gutmacher Institute, the research arm of Planned Parenthood, there are about 1.3 million abortions each year in the United States. Abortion is one of the most common surgical procedures in the country, and about 2.2% of women aged 15-44 had an abortion in 1997. On average, by age 20 one in seven women have had at least one abortion; by age 45, four in ten have done so. By all accounts, abortion is traumatic. While there may not be "a great demand" at Princeton, surely this fact is little consolation to those women who each year undergo abortions.

Parenthood requires long-term obligations, self-denial and commitment, all of which pose a threat to the Princeton ideal of autonomy and self-creation. For the vast majority of female students at Princeton, pregnancy is something that's not supposed to happen. First of all, for the most part undergraduates and graduate students are unmarried and so, predictably, pregnancy is not the norm. More importantly, however, there is a sense in which the very idea of pregnancy goes against the Princeton ideal. Princeton students are supposed to be intelligent, ambitious, hard-working and in control. We are supposed to follow our interests and succeed. What we succeed in – finance, academia, law, medicine, public service – doesn't matter so much as the fact that what we do succeed in is *our* choice. Pregnancy and children eventually have their place in the ideal, so long as they are duly planned and don't interfere with our other ambitions. Becoming pregnant in

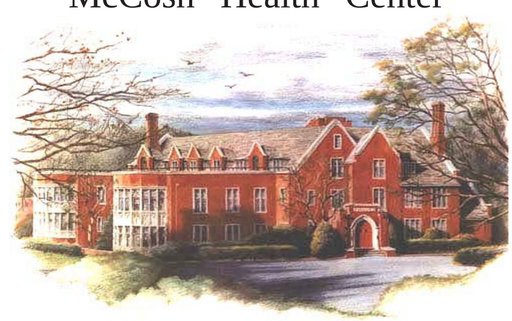
college and the long-term obligation, self-sacrifice, and commitment that this implies runs counter to the Princeton ideal of autonomy and self-creation.

Everything in this ideal is not bad—far from it. Goals, hard work and self-mastery are important aspects of any good life. The problem arises only when we begin to idolize the control of our destiny and the achievement of our ambitions, sacrificing whatever might jeopardize them. In a campus culture that virtually encourages pre-marital sex, and yet at the same time stigmatizes unwed pregnancy, abortion acts like the quick fix that can reconcile two such incompatible norms. The fact that abortion is necessary for the sex-without-pregnancy ideal to work might lead one to think that the campus culture would openly embrace it. Frankness about abortion and its consequences, however, requires us to recognize what abortion truly is. Pro-choice advocacy groups often speak euphemistically of a woman's "right to choose," yet they fail to finish the sentence: a woman's right to choose *the death of her unborn child*.

In order to perpetuate abortion, its supporters must avoid such forthrightness. The more we consider abortion, think about it, or talk about it in candid terms, the more unsettling it becomes. Many of the women who have undergone abortions know this all too personally. A Los Angeles Times survey in 1989 found that 56% of women who had abortions felt guilty about it afterwards, and 26% "mostly regretted the abortion." In 1989 psychologist Wanda Franz, PhD. testified at a congressional hearing on abortion: "Women who report negative after-effects from abortion know exactly what their problem is…They report horrible nightmares of children calling them from trash cans, of body parts, and blood," Franz told the panel. "When they are reminded of the abortion," Franz testified, "the women re-experienced it with terrible psychological pain...They feel worthless and victimized because they failed at the most natural of human activities — the role of being a mother."

Even more horrible than living with such grief would be living where one could not acknowledge it. Most of the abortion industry and advocacy groups, such as Planned Parenthood and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), minimize the significance of post-abortion syndrome. Even apart from such pro-choice extremists, however, implicit cultural attitudes fail to recognize grieving over abortion as a legitimate kind of suffering. At Princeton, a quick look through the Women's Center or the Sexuality Education Counseling Health Services (SECH) lobby reveals many pamphlets and books on all sorts of issues—but none concerning post-abortion suffering. In fact, the pregnancy "options" literature provided by the Women's Center and SECH, published by the "Women's Fund of New Jersey," only publicize abortion providers such as Planned Parenthood or pro-choice lobbies like the National Organization of Women.

McCosh "Health" Center



An educational book handed out in SECH RA-group presentations, *Sexual Etiquette…and More*, warns students who might be pregnant to avoid pregnancy crisis centers that might attempt to persuade them against having an abortion: "A note of caution for those opting to terminate their pregnancies. Some clinics pose as abortion clinics but are merely offices run by pro-life groups. Their aim is to lure in and convince pregnant women that choosing abortion is wrong." The book offers only two sentences, obscured with euphemism, on the abortion procedure itself: "Following a pelvic exam, the clinician will slightly dilate the cervix, insert the vacuum curettage and remove the products of conception." The authors decline to mention the indelicate details of how the "products of conception," or in other words the unborn child, are dealt with. After dilation, the unborn child is first cut to pieces with a steel knife, then with the placenta, scraped from the uterine wall and vacuumed out.

The University and its counseling and health services are decidedly pro-abortion, so much so that the 10-15 women each year are probably not making fully informed choices when they choose abortion.

The campus culture of sex-but-no-pregnancy adds tremendous social pressure in favor of abortion to those undergraduates and graduate students faced with the decision.

There is, however, hope for change. At a recent USG meeting, the new director of University Health Services and Chief Medical Officer, Daniel Silverman, emphasized that providing accurate information and balanced counseling to students should be a priority. Also, he recognized that students should not be forced to pay for elective abortions that they find gravely immoral.

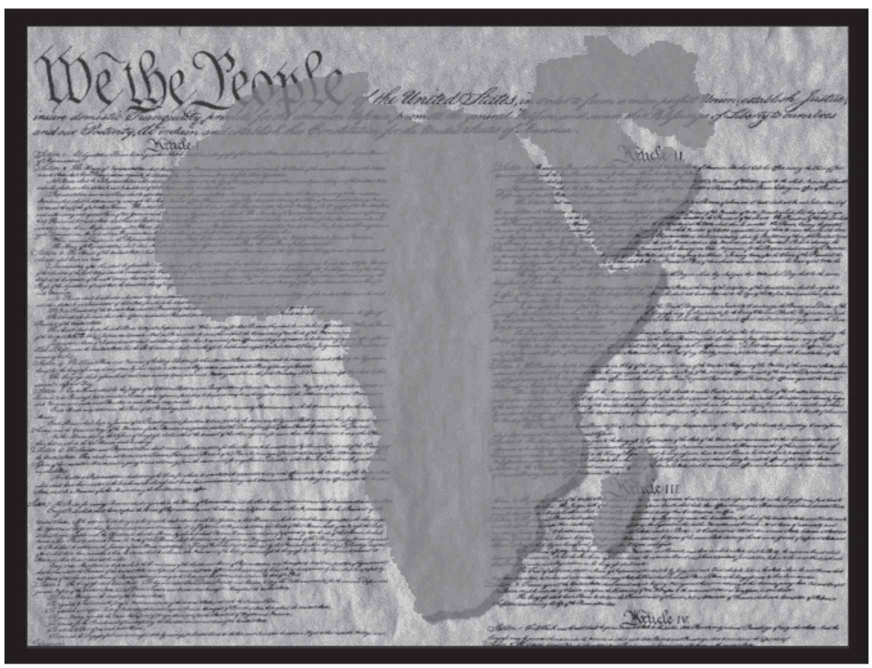
In the end, even apart from its effects on women, the evil of abortion stems from the killing of an innocent unborn child. Yet the severed bond between mother and child, and the physical and psychological harms caused by abortion can also not be ignored. For those women at Princeton who have already chosen abortion, it seems the only option is the appearance of normality and quiet suffering.

Sins of Our Fathers

Reparations: a question of conscience - and constitutionality

John Andrews '05

The pages of the *Daily Princetonian* have been packed with articles and letters about proposed reparations for the descendants of American slaves. On both sides, the articles have been little more than accusations of racism and hypocrisy. There is an acute need for rationality and focus in this discussion. It is time for Princeton students to examine the fundamental legal and moral issues surrounding such a radical proposition. Namely, are such measures constitutional? And, are they fair?



The answer to the former is an easy "no," at least to the sweeping measures envisioned by writers in the *Prince*.

Reparations are clearly unconstitutional under Article 1, Section 9, Clause 3: "No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed." Slavery was legal in the United States until December of 1865, when the Thirteenth Amendment was passed.

Until the ratification of this amendment, slavery was legal in Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, Union states which Lincoln did not proclaim emancipated in order to prevent their secession. Indeed, it is dubious that slavery even in the South could have been illegalized by Lincoln's usurpation of legislative authority and before the necessary action by Congress. By the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, the Confederacy was conquered; the last Confederate armies had surrendered, and Jefferson Davis had been captured, the May before. The Union slave states were in no position to resist complete emancipation. So once slavery was illegalized, it had effectively ceased to exist.

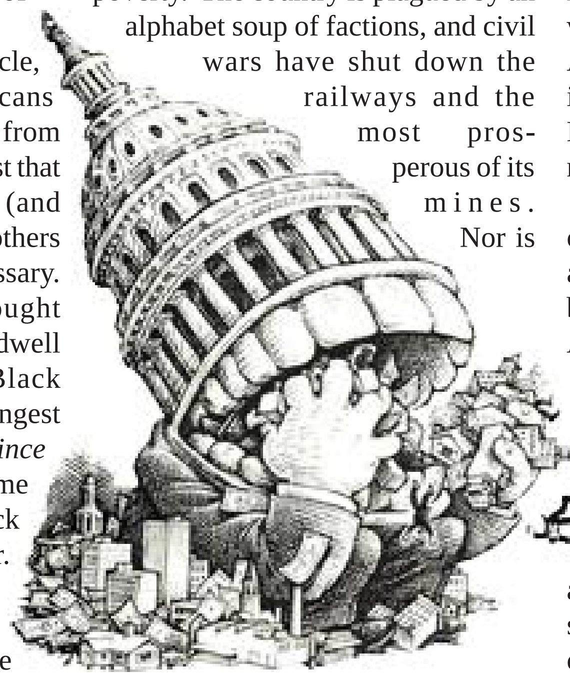
Webster's Third defines an "ex post facto law" as a "a criminal or penal statute that imposes a punishment for an act not punishable when committed, or alters to the defendant's disadvantage the punishment prescribed at the time of the act, or takes away from the substantial protection afforded the defendant by the then existing law." A slavery reparation, then, is an ex post facto law of the worst sort. Such a "penal statute" imposes punishment for an act completely legal at the time it was practiced.

Section 9 of Article 1 eliminates the possibility of reparations, then, for those born into slavery in America. However, it does not eliminate the possibility of punishing the act of importing the slaves. Although Congress is specifically denied the power of ex post facto legislation, Congress *is* authorized "(t)o define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations." I will leave it to scholars like Robert George to decide whether such offenses against the law of nations must be first defined, or whether the "and" means "and also." But let us concede, for the sake of discussion, that kidnapping is an offence against the law of nations, and that the federal government could impose penalties against those who perpetrated these kidnappings.

Advocates of reparations would be surprised to discover that such a law would not punish whites, but blacks. White slavers obtained slaves not from their homes, but from other African tribes, and in some cases Arab traders, who had captured the slaves.

Punishing today's whites as accessories to the crimes of yesterday's blacks for the sake of today's blacks – all in the name of reparations – is ludicrous.

In the second half of this article, I propose that African-Americans have not gone without benefit from importation. From there, I suggest that reparations for transportation (and hence all reparations, since the others are unconstitutional) are unnecessary.



Let's conduct a brief thought experiment, using Stephen Caldwell '04, Projects Chair for the Black Student Union, who wrote the longest and most impassioned recent *Prince* article on the subject. Let's assume he can trace his family tree back to slaves as Alex Haley did. Mr. Caldwell is a Princeton student, which means he has tremendous earning potential once he graduates. Being an African-American did not prevent him from attending Princeton; nor will it stop him from finding a well-paying job. In fact, being an African-American just might help him in both college admissions and finding a job. Universities and corporations would like very much to have a talented African-American writer like Mr. Caldwell. Princeton recruits heavily from minority communities, and uses its racial diversity statistics to compete with other universities. Similarly, companies like UPS advertise their placement of minorities in executive positions.

Now let's look at Sierra Leone, a western African nation from which many slaves were imported. In Sierra Leone's almost 72,000 square km of land, there's 120 sq. km of water and 290 sq. km of irrigated farmland. Infant mortality is around 150 per 1000 live births. Thirty-one percent of the population is literate, including only 18% of women. The per capita GDP is $510, with 68% of people living in poverty. The country is plagued by an alphabet soup of factions, and civil wars have shut down the railways and the most prosperous of its mines. Nor is Sierra Leone a worst-case scenario. In some African countries, the HIV/AIDS rate is over 30%, and genocide continues. Slavery, not even the greatest of African barbarisms, still exists in pockets of Africa. Women live in particularly deplorable conditions.

I venture to suggest that most Sierra Leoneans would, given the opportunity, gladly come to America. I also suggest that Mr. Caldwell would be reluctant to take their place. It is true that African-Americans adversely encounter law enforcement in numbers disproportionate to their population, though not disproportionate to criminality rates. However, the same could be said of Hispanics, and recently in some circumstances Arabs, races which have never been enslaved in America. Racism, particularly against immigrants, is every bit as rampant in Europe, though slavery is generally a more distant memory.

Some reparations advocates would contradict this argument with the assertion that while conditions for blacks are now better in Africa than in America, this was not always the case. I think that such an assertion cannot be decided either way, as the decision consists of weighing a lacking but steady source of food, clothing, shelter, and the beginnings of civilization and Christianization against the brutality of involuntary servitude. The present, however is clear: life is better in America.

Reparations advocates argue that damages from slavery are not quantifiable – in terms of GDP or arrest rates – but in the psychological impact on the black psyche, as Mr. Caldwell writes. If this is true, how can such a vague concept be translated into a dollar amount? Furthermore, isn't any psychological damage to blacks for their ancestors having gone through a hellish experience self-induced? But in the end, it makes no difference because of the legality of the oppressive system. Many blacks and whites just want to put the issue behind them – in the past, where it belongs. But self-appointed black "leaders" – Al Sharpton, Jesse Jackson, Louis Farrakhan – will not let the issue fade, playing on historically groundless white guilt and black entitlement.

> A slavery reparation, then, is an ex post facto law of the worst sort.

At any rate, the plight of slaves is not relevant to the current debate unless a clear connection between their condition and that of living African-

Americans can be drawn. It cannot. There is no way of knowing how blacks would have been treated had they arrived only through voluntary immigration. The connection between slavery and current discrimination is not as clear as reparations advocates would have us think, especially when considering the conditions in which non-black minority groups tend to live. Rather, like other immigrants, African slaves have contributed richly to the American heritage – jazz, anyone? – and have themselves richly benefited from the synthesis as well.

> Punishing today's whites as accessories to the crimes of yesterday's blacks for the sake of today's blacks - all in the name of reparations - is ludicrous.

Constitutional reparations, then, would compensate blacks for an “injustice” which ultimately profited them. And since, once imported, their servitude is sanctioned by the law of the United States, no constitutional statute can penalize their owners, much less the descendants of owners. Even a simple check from Uncle Sam punishes whites, who pay the majority of taxes. If reparations are structured so as not to violate the Constitution, they still violate common sense.

There are many other critical flaws in reparations advocacy. For example, many of those who are descendants of slaves are also descendants of sexually exploitative slave owners. Do they owe reparations? Are descendants of slaves, in the rare cases where lineage can be established, legally entitled to what their ancestors are owed, since slaves' marriages were not recognized by the government, but only by their owners? But these questions are more sensational, and would not improve objectivity in the campus debate.

For now, *Prince* contributors and all Princetonians would do well to stop pointing fingers and instead seriously consider the dubious constitutionality and fairness inherent in reparations, so that rationality may be restored as the Princeton community grapples with this divisive issue.

Too Much Color in  Black-and-White

The *Yale Daily News* recentely added a sex columnist...what's next?

Nathaniel Norman '03

Beyond any doubt, it is now clear that the *Yale Daily News*, that blustery Bulldog broadsheet, has tossed to the winds any semblance of journalistic seriousness. Having first reported on the alleged misuse of the Yale Admissions website (for which, by the way, the Princeton Admissions department should have received commendation, not condemnation), the New Haven tabloid has now engaged the services of a regular sex columnist, Natalie Krinsky, who writes on everything from oral sex to vibrator hijinks. First scandal, now sex – *Yale Daily News* has gone too far.

> First scandal, now sex - *Yale Daily News* has gone too far.

Is it deliberately pushing the limits, or simply falling in line with a nationwide trend which has seen several college newspapers serving up the dish on spanking and handcuffs, among other scintillating topics? Indeed, such "advice" does have its place – in books, magazines, even a few remaining outposts in Times Square – but not in student newspapers, where it becomes arousing eye-candy, possessing little educational or cultural value.

Sexual issues should not be dealt with jokingly, and sarcastic college sex columns can only serve to diminish the important sexual issues the nation faces today.

Serious newspapers, and especially those whose readership is composed entirely of impressionable young people, have a responsibility to avoid the sort of "news" found near the Express Lane at the local supermarket.

Humor is wonderful, and laughter is the elixir of life, but when it comes at the wrong time and in the wrong place, it can hurt. *Yale Daily News* must stop printing content which is off-color, rude, crude, and of little educational use or value.

A candid, honest column which answered student health questions would, of course, be much more acceptable – and probably more useful to the young, curious student population at Yale University. But Krinsky's writing is more of a catalog of her personal musings on sex and sexual issues, albeit unusual ones. Take, for instance, this excerpt from her Sept. 13 column, in which the authoress regales her audience with her adventures in a New York sex shop: "We finally arrived at the 'Sex Toys' aisle and in front of me hung more fake penises than I have ever seen in my life. There were ALL KINDS of vibrators. I scanned the wall...I looked lost. Like Boy George at a football game...There was "My First Vibe," designed for first timers...A little out of my league."

Indeed, to admit to something like this is a bit out of the league of anyone with either a shred of self-respect or an understanding of others' sensibilities. For this reason, it is apparent that Krinsky's column is meant to shock and provoke, which it clearly has done.

But its feigned innocence, callous and offensive sexual language, and colorless attempts at humor do nothing to answer serious questions asked by young people today – questions on abortion, contraception, and sexual health.

Krinsky's column is but fodder for prepubescent boys. It has no place in a serious college newspaper.



Yale Daily News

Curry, city Dems slam Rowland at local rally

Few sign up for new University dental insurance

Attorney General releases Berkeley Divinity report

Findings show financial mismanagement; Berkeley officials claim problems have been addressed

In city on the Green, no simple answers

Five more years for popular dean duo

INSIDE

Taking on Saddam

The reason to go in now.

Brad Heller '05

Today, Iraq is more than just another member of the axis of evil, but rather an emerging backbone for anti-Americanism worldwide. Not only has Iraq been responsible for Kurdish massacres in the past, but has also set a standard of stubborn resistance to the Western world. This only helps to continue the mainstream hatred to which so many have already subscribed.

That Iraq has not been shown to support terrorism perpetrated specifically by Al Qaeda only further highlights the prudence in disarming Iraq *now*. We are not trying to punish this country under some ambiguous veil of retribution, but rather to ensure that Saddam Hussein has zero capability to produce weapons of mass destruction.

Some at Princeton believe this effort is futile, for he already has chemical and biological weapons. *The Idealistic Nation* quotes former weapons inspector Scott Ritter, the former chief of the United Nations' commission for disarming Iraq, as arguing that "the only way an Iraqi biological weapon would kill you…is if it hit you in the head."

> Wouldn't the detonation of a weapon of mass destruction in a Western city be a violation of human rights?

Perhaps Ritter is right, and Iraq is still hunting for the elusive ability to successfully manufacture and deliver viable biological weapons. What must be stressed, however, is the guarantee that Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction will most definitely change the political and military climate of the Middle East. No longer will the United States have the ability to check the power of festering terrorist leadership to ensure the safety of its citizens. Nor could the U.S. and its allies safely initiate even the most legitimate action by force in the future if Iraq's arsenal, now in its (hopefully) nascent stages of development, serves as a shield for



its aggressive behavior. This protective blanket is the ugly specter of nuclear blackmail, which would effectively prevent the West from being able to protect itself against terrorist organizations based in this region.

Proponents of a more lackadaisical, diplomatic approach to this dilemma contend that nobody knows when Saddam will have a nuclear device, or any other weapon of mass destruction – it could be theoretically years away from completion. However, this is all the more reason to act right away, for it could be a matter of weeks or months as well. The most pacific solution is, of course, to resume weapons inspections. Obviously, this has proven difficult to accomplish because Iraq has

continually prevented universal access to its facilities. Even a decade of embargoes and occasional air strikes have not been enough to persuade Saddam to comply. Inspections as we know them have failed: an inspection regime backed by *force* is the only way to know for sure what Iraq's capabilities are.

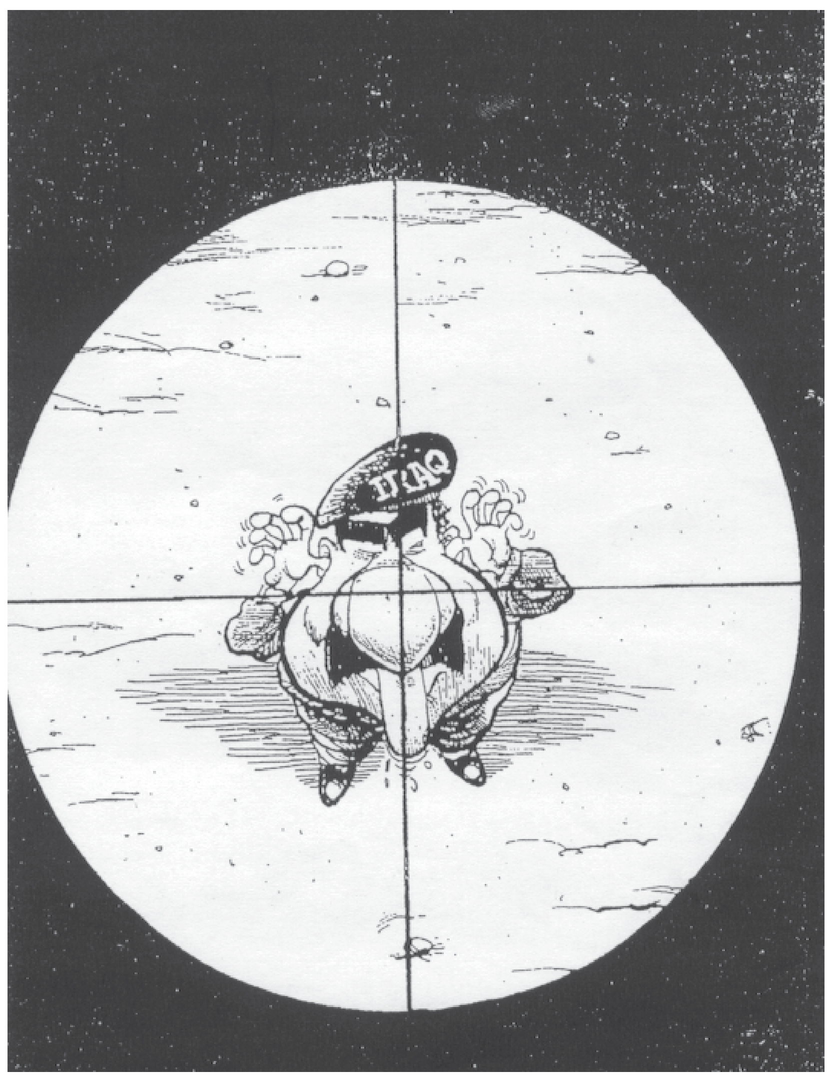
Others reason further that only but the most crude array of devices would be constructed anyway – how could they possibly match America's stockpile? The answer can best be explained by analogy.

Recently, the world saw successful nuclear tests in India and Pakistan, located in the most densely populated part of the world. Disagreement over the rightful possession of the Kashmir region of India has initiated years of unrest, terror attacks, and has led to the current situation of hundreds of thousands of hostile troops stationed on both sides of the border. Pakistan is of course the smaller and thus weaker of the two belligerents and must find some way to discourage a conventional attack that would surely overrun its defenses. The solution that effectively counters the massive size of the standing Indian army is but a handful of bombs, capable of preventing a war without ever being dropped. And needless to say, India countered Pakistan's relatively small armament of weapons of mass destruction by creating dozens, if not even hundreds, of its own. In order to prove the defensive nature of its stance, Pakistan has publicly promised not to use nuclear weapons unless attacked first while India made no such promise.

How does one simply explain this turn of events? Nuclear weapons can function as an idle army of death, preventing any kind of offensive incursion. Obviously, Pakistan is not exactly rushing to launch its devices at the first sign of Indian mobilization. However, given an extraordinary situation such as imminent invasion or the confirmed launch of an Indian nuclear missile, one could see how a Pakistani launch might be justified. Iraq is in a most similar position to Pakistan should it develop a functional arsenal, although Iraq will not have to worry about fallout from their own bombs contaminating their home soil as much as India and Pakistan do.

It seems that even the most backward weapon of mass destruction is enough to counter the Western world. Only one is required, and it need only have the capacity to be delivered to a populated Western city with the threat of tens of thousands of civilian casualties. This is enough to discourage Western military involvement because *nobody is willing to barter the lives of thousands for another chance to defeat Saddam Hussein, especially after it's too late.* The Cold War's theory of mutually assured destruction is not applicable here.

Thus, a strike that preempts Iraq's ability to repel a force with weapons of mass destruction is nothing more than a defensive measure and a sound extension of our right to protect ourselves from blackmail. Furthermore, the fact that Saddam Hussein has acted so violently in the past might just as well suggest that he could be contemplating a first-use



policy and weather the Western reaction if the conditions are right. Princeton University politics professor Robert George agrees. In a contribution to the *Daily Princetonian* last month, he wrote that an attack against Iraq "qualifies as defensive when it is motivated by a reasonable belief that the use of force is necessary to prevent unjust aggression that is being planned or for which preparation is being made".

So if it is reasonable to strike against Iraq first, then the question becomes whether it should be a unilateral or united force of several allies that coordinates an invasion. Of course, it would be favorable to fight a war knowing that your allies in peace support you in a time of struggle. However, many of America's allies are weak-kneed and are fearful of the destabilization of the region, in addition to the moral issues invariably involved in an invasion of Iraq. Is it not yet obvious at this point that a more powerful Iraq can only further destabilize the region? Hussein has continually refused the peaceful measures of weapons inspections from taking place and in doing so blatantly dishonored his agreement to the conditions set forth in the treaty that ended the Persian Gulf War. This violation of the major tenet of a peace accord for over a decade is proof of his sophistry and reason to believe that waiting any longer would most definitely seal our fate.



Despite the fact that Iraq has the potential to cause great destruction, the Princeton Peace Network is concerned that an invasion would "seriously affect the human rights of civilians…and we must honor and respect the human rights of the Iraqi people." I happen to agree that Iraqis sustain a relatively low standard of living; however, this is a result of economic sanctions that were caused by the caprice of their ruler in invading Kuwait. Now that this same ruler is putting the needs of his weapons research programs ahead of the health and well-being of his people, perhaps this is another reason to depose him and allow a different leader to take charge, one more sympathetic to the needs of his people. Furthermore, wouldn't the detonation of a weapon of mass destruction in a Western city be a violation of human rights?

The former co-president of the Princeton College Democrats, Adam Frankel, was able to comment on this point. When asked about the possibility of a Western city being destroyed in the context of the human rights violations continuing in Iraq, Frankel said that "Iraq is not the only adversary… in the world with the capacity to deploy weapons of mass destruction against U.S. assets…" This is true. But how does that make Iraq less of a threat? The point here is that even the most humane reason to prevent an invasion is still a puny excuse to allow Saddam Hussein to continue his mission of acquiring the means to kill people more effectively.

Because Hussein must be urgently stopped, it is imperative that we have a strategy to deal with such an invasion. The most promising theory involves the dismantling of the Iraqi governing infrastructure (that has the capability of authorizing a strike should such weapons already be available) before destroying the country's military capabilities.

Ehud Barak, in a recent *New York Times* op-ed, favors a dual-stage attack whereby a small force initiates what he terms to be "a surgical operation" quickly and efficiently, uses reliable intelligence in order to depose central Iraqi authorities, and leaves the military infrastructure fragmented and vulnerable. Both Barak and a recent press release from the Pentagon that outlined a plan for attack generally agree that a small mobile force followed by a larger one of perhaps 300,000 troops provides for the fastest possible and potentially least damaging conclusion to the conflict.

Iraq is a dangerous enemy, capable of eventually manufacturing weapons that are the key to unifying the terror based in the Middle East, while immunizing the region from effective international supervision. Ensuring the impotence of Iraq's institutes of evil must be President Bush's top priority.

"Sex Week" Strikes Out

Deceit and decadence mark newest addition to LGBT calendar

Evan Baehr '05

This past week Princeton experienced its most vehement retaliation to an advertising campaign ever—over 1,800 posters advertising the climax of the "Let's Talk About Sex" week were systematically ripped down in a homophobic rage, according to Debbie Bazarsky of LGBT student services.

Correction: Frist janitorial staff followed a request from Dean Kathleen Deignan to remove inappropriate posters. Homophobic rage or janitorial compliance? The remarks made at the panel on the "Joys and Toys of Gay Sex" would lead one to conclude the former.

Bazarsky welcomed her guests at the panel and solemnly continued her description of an act of hatred, of oppression—an act forbidden by University protection of free speech. She said that Public Safety was thoroughly investigating every lead they had.

Ironically, the suspect for whom they had the most incriminating evidence for was our own Dean Deignan. This mix up revealed much about the LGBT community: how they advertise, how they provoke, and the way they respond when attacked.

This saga began when a full-page ad ran in the *Prince*, describing an event as an "exciting and provocative presentation on the joys and toys of gay and lesbian sex." Many readers interpreted this as a how-to panel for fantastic homosexual sex.

While the majority of Princeton students would not object to a panel discussion on safe sex or even homosexuality, inflammatory, inappropriate, and outright



pornographic advertisements complete with pictures of sexual activities and sex toys quickly elicited controversy and opposition. More telling is that the posters were professionally created, color laser-printed depictions of homosexual activity. They caught eyes around campus and revealed that this event wasn't simply a speaker invited by LGBT; instead, it was part of a giant, week-long sex festival paid for by the University.

My dad frequently jokes, "Where does all that money we pay for your education go?" I dare not tell him the latest recipient of my tuition.

The next barrage of advertising came in the form of pictures of sex toys and homosexuals involved in sexual activities. Just as with the description in the *Prince*, the advertising was not designed to be informative, but rather to be provocative and controversial.

With each passing day new posters were hung up, apparently because the others had been torn down—nevertheless, each version was equally lewd and inappropriate for something viewed by students, faculty, visitors, and the community.

The pinnacle of the week—the anticipated sex toy talk—finally arrived on Thursday night. Betts Auditorium filled to capacity of about 140 students—an interesting mix of those practicing gay sex, those drawn by the controversy, and those opposed to the event. After some opening remarks and introductions, Bazarsky said that in no way did she intend this event to be controversial,

although every single poster, flyer, and ad for this event was explicitly designed to be controversial. She felt that she had to be risqué in order to draw a crowd. In fact, controversy was so much the paradigm that the description of the event didn't come close to representing its purpose. The gay sex toys? The joys and pleasures of gay sex? Men kissing? Women kissing? Provocative diagrams? Explicit language? Nothing of the sort.

Instead, attendees sat through an hour long discussion on STDs that affect the homosexual community. A week of hype, phone calls, emails, letters to the editor, all for a talk on STDs. If the event had been advertised honestly and accurately there would have been no controversy, those who attended for sake of controversy would not have, and others who are interested in STDs but not in sex toys would have. The ads failed.

If the intent was to increase awareness about sexually transmitted diseases that particularly afflict the homosexual community, then attempts should have been made to reach the entire university with literature and ads that discuss STD's—or perhaps something that even remotely addresses STDs in anyway—or perhaps anything other than a headline calling it a talk on gay sex toys. The Alliance's approach is akin to a would-be RJ Reynolds' panel on "maximizing your buzz by smoking cigarettes"—but when the audience arrives, the topic turns out to be lung cancer. RJR might justify their ads by saying that getting a buzz is more fun than having cancer; similarly, the Alliance thought that gay sex is more fun than STDs—tough call there. Unfortunately for cigarette smokers and gays, the former is the time and again cause of the latter.

Both examples lure people in with a lie, then deliver nothing of what was promised.

The reason that the homosexual community is so afflicted by STD's (they make up 65 percent of the AIDS community, but less than 10 percent of the population) is embodied by these ads: many prioritize the pleasures of promiscuity above their own safety and health. Instead, it's all about the sex. Would RJR have any luck bringing in smokers to learn about the risks of lung cancer without enticing them with the destructive behavior itself? Similarly, the LGBT community must entice its members with the dangerous behavior itself (call it a sex toy talk) and then lock the doors, forcing them to hear about the deadly consequences of their lifestyle.

> The LGBT community must entice its members with the dangerous behavior itself and then lock the doors, forcing them to hear about the potentially deadly consequences of their lifestyles.

The first rule in advertising is that you must know who your audience is. While the Pride Alliance can apologize to the students in attendance for racy and vulgar advertising, the thousands of students who were not provided an explanation for the ads perceive it to be a University-sponsored event that demonstrates gay sex toys.

The ad absolutely failed and actually hurt the perception of LGBT students by further entrenching stereotypes about gay male promiscuity. No matter how much backpedaling was done at the event



itself, it isn't enough to retract the images infused in students' minds.

When asked about the "in your face" style of advertising, Virgilio Skylar, founder of the new student group Princeton Queer Radicals, said that the event was optional to come to and that no one was forced to be there. Correct. However, students were bombarded with posters with phrases like, "Call me a dyke to my face," "FAG," and "Have a problem with gay sex? Keep it to yourself." No one on campus, minus those who tore down posters (which I strongly disapprove of), has expressed their problems with gay sex. Instead, they have expressed their discomfort not with homosexuality but with raunchy and crude posters. Try this: put up large, color ads for a sex-toy-filled discussion on heterosexual sex—equally controversial. Don't expect the University to fund this project though, since it would be reaffirming healthy social institutions.

Furthermore, this set of posters embodied utter hypocrisy. They criticize the heterosexual argument that says it's fine if you are gay, as long as you keep it to yourself. They then tell heterosexuals that if we don't like gay sex, we should keep it to ourselves. They support freedom of expression of their ideas, but yet want to silence our beliefs. Fortunately, that is not how our country functions.

We will continue to voice our beliefs and hope you do so as well—except that we ask that you do so accurately and appropriately.

It is most poignant that in her welcoming, Ms Bazarsky mentioned the presence of press members in the audience; she said that her only hope was that we didn't misrepresent the ideas or material from the discussion. Ms. Bazarsky, heed your own advice; don't create inflammatory, crude, and provocative ads for the sake of controversy. While they might draw more of a crowd, the larger crowd your ads reach is only exposed to your mistruths.

> Frist janitorial staff followed a request from Dean Kathleen Deignan to remove inappropriate posters.

Dei Sub Numine Viget?

Looking back on Princeton's religious tradition.

Jennifer Carter '03

Princeton is awfully fond, it seems, of the University emblem, that ubiquitous orange-and-black shield that graces campus buildings, signage, and prox cards. Princeton students see the shield countless times each day, and surely many — if not most — never give it a second thought.

Orange Key tour guides joke that the Latin motto below that shield, Dei Sub Numine Viget, means "God went to Princeton," but we suspect most students do know that it means "Under God She Flourishes." The shield also includes a well-known black chevron, representing the rooftops of the University, and a more often overlooked book bearing the inscription "Vetus Novus Testamentum" — Old and New Testament.



Like Princeton, six other Ivy League institutions, regardless of their religious foundations or lack thereof, imply some sort of religious conscience in their mottoes. Consider:

- *Harvard*: Veritas (Truth)
- *Yale*: Lux et Veritas (Light and Truth)
- *Penn*: Leges sine Moribus vanae (Laws without Character are Vain)
- *Columbia*: In Lumine Tuo Videbimus Lumen (In Thy Light Shall We See Light)
- *Dartmouth*: Vox Clamantis in Deserto (A Voice Crying Out in the Wilderness)
- *Brown*: In Deo Speramus (In God We Hope)

Have the mottoes of our country's finest institutions of learning become truisms? What meaning do the Bible and the assertion that "Under God She Flourishes" have for modern-day Princeton, an indisputably secular institution? The answer requires an examination of the University and its Christian foundations.

Glossy Princeton admissions materials laud the fledgling college's open-mindedness, noting that its royal charter in 1746 opened the college to "any Person of any religious Denomination whatsoever." This would lead one to believe that the College of New Jersey was founded on purely secular grounds — which could not be farther from the truth.

The College of New Jersey was born of the Second Great Awakening that raged through the colonies with impassioned revivals, emotional demonstrations of the Spirit, and sermons of hellfire and brimstone. Existing institutions such as Harvard, Yale, and The College of William and

Mary had taken a conservative stance against this "New Light" movement. In response, a handful of Presbyterian New Lights secured a charter for the College of New Jersey that would not only admit students from this new movement but would also legitimate the New Lights as respectable, serious scholars.

The early presidents of the college were religious leaders as well as eminent statesmen, and students were highly religious, both in their compulsory studies as well as in their extracurricular activities. In the nineteenth century Princeton became the home of the nation's first collegiate Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), through which Princeton-in-Asia, the Princeton-Blairstown Center, and the Student Volunteer Corps were all created in the early decades of the twentieth century.

The turning point came in the 1920s, when the University took a firm stand against a Christian revivalist movement that was sweeping college campuses, providing the catalyst for the ultimate demise of the YMCA at Princeton. The University Chapel was dedicated in 1928, and the newly appointed Dean of the Chapel noted that the era of student-initiated religion had given way to the University-run Chapel enterprise.

These were the years made famous by F. Scott Fitzgerald '17, when Princeton was known less for its religious fervor than for its country-club milieu. The shift away from the University's Christian pedigree was induced in part by the increasing heterogeneity of Princeton students. The well-intentioned Chapel sought, much as it does today, to facilitate cooperation among competing student-run denominational societies.

Today, Chapel services pay homage not only to Christianity but Islam, Judaism, and animism, and the Chapel Choir's recent recruiting campaign proclaimed "Don't ask, don't tell what you did Saturday night." The Sept. 11 memorial service last year featured not only a politically motivated mutilation of a Hebrew biblical text, but also a chilling performance of Psalm 23 praising the Lord our Mother.

Academic life is distinguished by generous measures of humanism, agnosticism, atheism, and Singerism, denying the existence and knowability of absolute Truth.

Likewise, academic life is distinguished by generous measures of humanism, agnosticism, atheism, and Singerism, denying the existence and knowability of absolute Truth. Student life programs attempt to force open-mindedness upon impressionable freshmen. Students are challenged to distinguish between an "innocent hookup" and rape, instructed to accept all forms and expressions of sexuality, and told that diversity is an end unto itself.

(The *Tory* agrees that tolerance is a crucial value, but tolerance is not the same as blind acceptance of all ideas. At the risk of pointing out the obvious, tolerance means, well, tolerating those things of which one does not approve.)

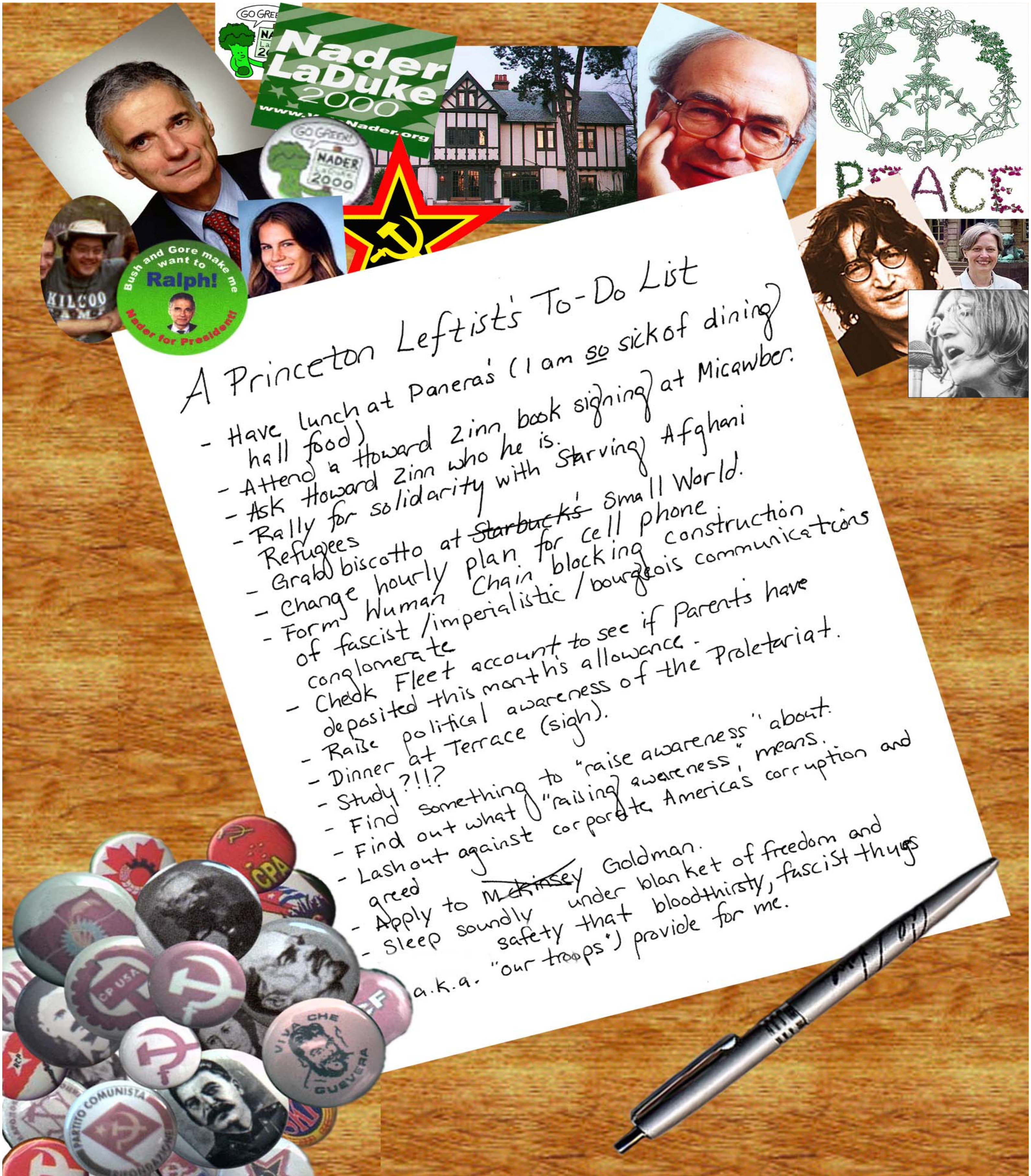
The secular, relativist character of modern-day Princeton is clearly a far cry from its deeply rooted religious heritage. We do not argue that Princeton should return to those roots and reinstitute mandatory daily prayer and religious instruction.

We wish only to determine what role the Christian legacy should play, if any, in today's Princeton and how best to bridge the chasm between past and present.

In answer, there are two acceptable alternatives:

First, we might eliminate the old motto Under God She Flourishes and remove the Bible from the University shield. Fortunately, President Wilson's motto and President Shapiro's addition, "Princeton in the Nation's Service and in the Service of All Nations," do provide a suitable substitute. Although God has been largely removed from the modern academy, the value of service (or, if you will, love of one's neighbor) remains sacred, in word if not in deed. Our present Dean of Religious Life often remarks that neighbor-love, the second-greatest commandment in the Judeo-Christian tradition, is the essence of all religion — a questionable view, but satisfactory as a value-based policy for a secular university.

Or, in keeping with the tradition represented by the University emblem, we might come to peace with the implications of that legacy. We might be more willing to uphold standards of right behavior; we might be less willing to accept moral relativism. We might hold each other accountable for the consequences of our actions. We might hold sacred human life, formed in the image of its Creator. We might pursue lives in which we serve not out of guilt or out of political motivations but out of a desire to love as our Maker loves us.



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